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Message Text

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67
ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-10 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 PM-03 IO-03 EA-13 SCI-03

AEC-05 DODE-00 DRC-01 /086 W
---------- 005621
R 151932Z NOV 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8753
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 16597

LIMDIS/NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM, GW
SUBJECT: NPT RATIFICATION: CSU VIEWS

BEGIN SUMMARY: EMBOFF MET NOVEMBER 15
WITH BAVARIAN MINISTER OF STATE HEUBL, AT THE LATTER'S
INVITATION, FOR DISCUSSION OF EAST-WEST ISSUES IN
GENERAL AND NPT IN PARTICULAR. HEUBL INDICATED CSU
WOULD VOTE NO ON NPT BUT WOULD NOT SEEK TO BLOCK RATIFI-
CATION BY USING BUNDESRAT MAJORITY AGAINST EURATOM/
IAEA VERIFICATION AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. HEUBL BEGAN NPT DISCUSSIONS BY EXPRESSING UNDER-
STANDING FOR US INTEREST IN PUSHING NPT NEGOTIATIONS IN
THE '60S AND BY ACKNOWLEDGING US INTERPRETATIONS AND
SOVIET SILENCE IN THE FACE OF
AMERICAN INTERPRETATIONS. HEUBL BELIEVED THAT EFFORT
TO WIN SOVIET CONFIRMATION OF SUCH INTERPRETATIONS
WOULD NOT BE PRODUCTIVE AT THIS POINT. HE SAID
CDU/CSU REMAIN SPLIT ON NPT QUESTION AND THAT INTER-
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PRETATION PROPOSED BY SOME CDU MEMBERS WAS ONLY

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LIKELY TO BRING A MARGINAL AUGMENTATION OF THE NUMBER OF CDU DEPUTIES WHO WOULD VOTE AFFIRMATIVELY FOR RATIFICATION.

2. BASED ON EXTENSIVE TALKS WITH STRAUSS, HEUBL COULD SAY THAT CSU DEPUTIES BY AND LARGE WOULD OPPOSE RATIFICATION. HOWEVER, HEUBL ASSURED US THAT THE CSU WOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO USE ITS MAJORITY TO BLOCK NPT RATIFICATION BY OPPOSING EURATOM/IAEA VERIFICATION AGREEMENT. HEUBL SAID CSU HAD GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT WASHINGTON DID NOT FEEL AS STRONGLY AS EARLIER WAS THE CASE ABOUT NPT RATIFICATION. EMBOFF REPLIED THAT, BASED ON CONSISTENT GUIDANCE FROM WASHINGTON, HE UNDERSTOOD THAT US CONTINUED TO ATTACH CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO EARLY RATIFICATION OF NPT. IN THIS CONNECTION, EMBOFF NOTED NPT REQUIREMENT THAT DELIVERIES OF NUCLEAR MATERIAL TO NON-NUCLEAR STATES BE TERMINATED IF THEY FAIL TO RATIFY WITHIN SPECIFIED (ALREADY ELAPSED) PERIOD. HEUBL TOOK NOTE OF BOTH OF THESE POINTS AND SAID HE WOULD DISCUSS THEM DISCRETELY WITH HIS CSU COLLEAGUES. HOWEVER, AS TREATY WAS IN HIS VIEW SURE TO BE RATIFIED ANYWAY, CSU SAW NO REASON TO VIOLATE THEIR CONVICTIONS ON THIS MATTER.

3. HEUBL SAID MAIN REASON FOR CSU OPPOSITION TO NPT WAS RELATED TO ULTIMATE SOVIET OBJECTIVE TO IMPOSE EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM ON WESTERN EUROPE AND FINLANDIZATION-TYPE DEPENDENCY ON FRG. CSU SAW THIS PROCESS ALREADY UNDER WAY IN TERMS OF SOVIET INFLUENCE IN SPD, UNIVERSITIES, MEDIA, ETC. AS A RESULT, CSU SAW EUROPEANOPTION AS ESSENTIALLY A FALSE ISSUE AS THE SOVIETS WOULD ASSERT INTOLERABLE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE SHOULD WESTERN EUROPE AND PARTICULARLY GERMANY EVER SEEK TO PICK UP EUROPEAN OPTION. FURTHER, WHILE CSU DID NOT REPEAT NOT FAVOR NATIONAL GERMAN NUCLEAR FORCE, HEUBL SAID HIS PARTY CONSIDERED IT "PROFOUNDLY UNWISE" TO GIVE UP THIS POLITICAL BARGAINING LEVER VIS-A-VIS SOVIET UNION.

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4. IN CONCLUSION, HEUBL REVIEWED HIS PARTY'S CONCERNS REGARDING CSCE, EMPHASIZING IN PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING SOME PRACTICAL GAINS IN BASKET III, AVOIDING FORMULATION PRECLUDING POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS AND RELATED DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN UNION, AND, ABOVE ALL, AVOIDING ESTABLISHMENT OF PERMANENT ORGAN OF POLITICAL CHARACTER WHICH WOULD BE GENESIS OF ALL-EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM.

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